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Alberto I. Vani

# On the Road to Democracy

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Poder Ejecutivo Federal  
Dept. de Aprovisionamientos Generales

Dirección de Talleres Gráficos  
Filomeno Mata No. 3, México, D. F. - 1910







**ON THE ROAD  
TO DEMOCRACY**

BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

RUDIMENTARY INSTRUCTION IN THE  
REPUBLIC

=====

HYGIENE IN MEXICO

=====

A RESEARCH CONCERNING POPULAR  
EDUCATION

# On the Road to Democracy

By

Alberto J. Pani

Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labour

Translated by

Professor

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of the  
National University  
of Mexico



Poder Ejecutivo Federal

Depto. de Aprovisionamientos Generales  
Dirección de Talleres Gráficos  
Filomeno Mata núm. 8  
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## FOREWORD.

Yielding to the benevolent solicitations of several of my friends, I now venture, to publish in this little volume certain statements which I have had the necessity of making during the discharge of my official functions, because they synthesize and set out in relief some of the most important characteristics of the present presidential policy, and, above all, because it is possible that their publication—similarly to that of my former book ‘Hygiene in Mexico’—done at the expense of the Government and for the benefit of the Mexican Popular University, may contribute to promote the work of educating our people, undertaken by that worthy Institution.

Mexico, D. F. July 1918.

A. J. P.



THE CONSTITUTIONALIST  
GOVERNMENT FACE TO FACE  
WITH THE SANITARY  
AND EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS  
OF MEXICO

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Address delivered to the Members of  
the American Academy of Political  
and Social Science and of the Penn-  
sylvania Arbitration and Peace So-  
ciety, in "Witherspoon Hall," Phila-  
delphia, Penn., U. S. A.



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Mr. Chairman:

Gentlemen of the Academy and of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

During the most acute and violent period of an armed revolution —a veritable infernal chaos where, after destroying everything they come across, a frenzied people seem bent on suicide in a body— reports of isolated cases however horrible in themselves, cause next to no impression in view of the awfulness of the general catastrophe. According as the struggle attains some sort of organization by the grouping together of men round the various nuclei representing the different antagonistic principles at work, individuals gradually grow in importance until the nucleus which best interpreted the ambitions and requirements of the people acquires an absolute

ascendency. Then this group is unreasonably expected strictly to fulfill all the obligations incumbent on a duly constituted Government. The scandal then produced by the reports of isolated cases of calamity suffered whether by individuals or on property, is all the more intense in proportion as the frequency with which such cases occur, diminishes.

That is precisely what is happening in regard to the present Government of Mexico. Take any two dates from the beginning of its organization. Compare dispassionately the relative conditions of national life, and it will necessarily have to be admitted that the country is rapidly returning to normal political and social conditions. It is also undeniable that, for instance, the temporary interruption of a line of communication or the attack on a train or village by rebels and outlaws, now causes an exaggerated impression perhaps because people have already forgotten that but a short time ago the greater part of the railway lines and the cities of the Republic were in the hands of those rebels and outlaws, and that in the very territory controlled by the Constitutional Government, trains and towns were only but too frequently assaulted.

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

But what is altogether inconceivable is that people should wish to make the present Government responsible for the transgressions of its predecessors. The Revolution itself is a natural consequence of those transgressions. Former Governments who knew not how to avert the Revolution, are responsible for the evils which it may have brought along with it; and if the Nation is to be saved, as it shall be, it will be due solely to those citizens who hitherto have been and hereafter will be ready to sacrifice themselves to so lofty and noble a purpose. It is indeed only through personal sacrifice that it is possible to construct a true Fatherland.

The enemies of the new Regime—irreconcilable as they are through their unwillingness to accept the share of sacrifice demanded of them by the latter—are now burning their last cartridges unjustifiably laying the blame on the Constitutional Government for many of the calamities which in themselves were the cause of the Revolution, and which the Government, prompted by the generous impulse to which it owes its very life, purposes to remedy. Thus may be explained many of the protests of the mal-

contents and—it must necessarily be admitted—the monstrosity of the fact that those protests are all the more loud and energetic when money even rather than life itself is at stake.

The subject that I have chosen for my address to you to-night refers to one of those calamities—a disgraceful legacy of the past—which inimical interests are beginning to take advantage of to attack the Constitutional Government. This Government is the first of all the Governments that have ruled the destinies of Mexico, seriously to concern itself about the matter and earnestly to strive to remedy the evil. Having been appointed by Mr. Carranza, who is in charge of the Executive Power of Mexico, to study the question, I shall merely have to summarize or copy fragments from the study (1) I made of it, in order to develop the theme which I have just announced.

\* \* \*

“One of the most imperative obligations imposed by civilization upon the State is the due protection

(1) The whole of the study is contained in my book “*Hygiene in Mexico*,” published by ‘Balescá,’ Mexico, 1916, and by G. P. Putman’s Sons, New York and London, 1917. One volume 8vo.

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of human life—thus making the progressive growth of Society possible—at the same time popularizing the precepts of Private and practising those of Public Hygiene. To accomplish the former it has the School, as an excellent means of propaganda, at its disposal; as regards the latter, which has a more direct influence on health, it has recourse principally to special establishments (for medical, disinfecting and prophylactic purposes), Sanitary Engineering Works and laws and regulations the strict observance of which is entrusted to a suitably organized technical, administrative and police personnel. It may therefore be stated without any fear of exaggeration, *that there is a necessary relation of direct proportion between the sum of civilization acquired by a country and the degree of perfection attained by its sanitary organization.*"

The activities of General Díaz' Government, in this respect, during the thirty odd years of forced peace and apparent material well-being, were almost exclusively devoted to the carrying out of works intended for the gratification of vanity or as means of speculation; but very seldom were such works

undertaken with a view to meeting the actual and most urgent needs of the country. 'Tis true, magnificent buildings were erected. The National Theater and the Capitol alone, both left unfinished, were to have cost sixty million pesos. The execution of works of public utility when undertaken, was made subservient to the illegitimate ends already pointed out. Thus for example, city improvement works which were never finished even in the Capital of the Republic, notwithstanding the notorious unhealthy conditions of some of the most important towns, were always started laying down magnificent and expensive asphalt pavements which it became necessary to destroy and replace whenever a drain or a water pipe had to be put in. Finally, the Government education work—without which, in a country like ours, every other endeavour of national aggrandizement is of very little value—seemed preferably to consist in the erection of costly School buildings. It is forsooth only in view of such things that the reason may be found why the proportion of individuals who know how to read and write should not amount to even 30% of the total population of the Republic.

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The net results in this respect as shown by the long administration of General Díaz cannot be more appalling. Taking the average death-rate corresponding to the nine years comprised between 1904 and 1912—the heyday of the administration—we find in the city of Mexico, where the largest sum of culture and material progress has accumulated, an annual death-rate of 42.3 deaths per thousand, that is to say:

- I. *It is nearly three times the average coefficient of the death-rate in American cities of similar density (16.1);*
- II. *Nearly twice and a half times greater than the average coefficient of the death-rate in comparable European cities (17.53), and*
- III. *Greater even than the coefficient of the death-rate in the Asiatic and African cities of Madras and Cairo 39.51 and 40.15 respectively, notwithstanding that in the former cholera morbus is endemic.*

The annual average death-rate corresponding to the same period in the city of Mexico, due possibly to *avoidable* diseases, *were the precepts of public and private hygiene duly to be followed*—the which

constitutes an irrefragable arraignment against the administration of General Díaz—*amounts to more than 11,500 deaths.* Now, as the deaths caused by the Revolution in six years certainly do not amount to 70,000, it turns out that the Government of General Díaz so greatly extolled both by friends and foes—in the acme of peace and prosperity was not killing fewer people in the city of Mexico alone, than did a formidable revolution that set afire the entire Republic and horrified the whole world.

The fact is that General Díaz' Government was not acquainted or systematically pretended to be unacquainted with the formula of *integral progress*—which is the only one that really ennobles Humanity—and wasted its energies in showy manifestations of a *purely material and fictitious progress*, with its inevitable train of vice and corruption. The pomp and pageantry with which the centenary of National Independence was celebrated, —the most shameless lie with which the world has ever been deceived—was being displayed precisely on the eve of the outbreak of the popular revolution of 1910, before whose first onrush the Government crumbled to pieces like a house of cards.

## O N T H E R O A D T O D E M O C R A C Y

\* \* \*

Let us now turn to the Constitutional Government. The firm resolve of bettering the social and individual conditions of the people is written on its banner, and its sincerity and energy is being proven not with words only but verily with deeds.

During its sojourn in Veracruz—towards the close of 1914 and the first six months of 1915—whilst the Army was reconquering the territory of the Republic, which at the outset was almost entirely in the hands of the enemy, the Constitutional Government, notwithstanding having to devote most diligent attention to the prosecution of the most active campaign ever recorded in the annals of Mexican History, yet found time for the study and resolution of all matters connected with the efficient political and administrative reorganization of the country.

.....

“Whoever with but a superficial knowledge of our History calmly reviews the long and complicated process of formation of our nationality, from the pre-Cortés period—through the Conquest, the days of the Viceroy, the wars of Independence, the

convulsions (solely interrupted by the forced peace of Porfirio Díaz) of nearly a whole century of autonomous existence—down to our own times, will necessarily discover in the most salient manifestations of the life of the national organism, the most unmistakable symptoms of a serious pathological condition, originated by two principal causes, to wit: —*the loathsome corruption of the upper and the unconsciousness and wretchedness of the lower classes.*"

"The iniquitous means employed by don Porfirio to impose peace during more than thirty years, not only nullified every effort that tended to remedy the evils indicated, but furthermore determined their greater intensity. Indeed, he generously gratified the unbridled appetites of his friends; he ruthlessly and criminally annihilated those who were not addicted to him; he fostered the cowardice and lying with which the atmosphere was saturated, systematically repressing with an iron hand every manly impulse, at the same time hampering the free and honest expression of the truth; he placed the administration of justice unconditionally at the service of the inte-

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rests of the rich and always turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the poor; in one word, he increased the immorality and corruption of the reduced and privileged ruling classes and in consequence the sufferings of the immense, despoiled, ignorant and starving majority. Thus then, the thirty odd years of peace only served still further to deepen the secular chasm of hatred and rancor that separates the two classes mentioned, and necessarily and fatally to provoke the formidable social upheaval which initiated in 1910 has frenziedly shaken the whole Republic to its very foundations."

"It is incontrovertible that the three aspects which I have presented of the problem—the economic, intellectual and social—coincide with the ends pursued by *education*, through the *schools* as ideally dreamed of by thinkers, that is, as '*institutions whose object is to direct and control' the formation of habits in order to attain the highest social good.*' Our schools unfortunately have not yet acquired the necessary power appreciably to lessen the horrible ambient immorality or to counterbalance at least to a certain degree its inevitable effects of social dissolution."

*"The real problem of Mexico therefore consists in physically and morally hygienizing the people and by every means available striving to better the precarious conditions of our proletariat."*

*"That part of the solution of the problem which therefore corresponds to the official educational activities of the Department or the Municipalities, must be performed according to what has already been set forth, by establishing and maintaining the greatest possible number of schools, for which purpose it will be necessary to reduce their cost by means of a rational simplification of organization and of school programs, without losing sight of the fact that its preferential orientations should be marked by:—the essentially technological character of the teaching in order to cooperate together with all the other organs of the Government in the work of the economic betterment of the masses; and by the diffusion of the elementary principles of hygiene as the sole efficient protection of the race."*

*"And finally, as the medium constitutes a more powerful educational factor than the schools themselves, the country necessarily needs first and fore-*

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*most to organize its public administration upon a basis of absolute morality."*

In closing, confining myself to the object of this address, it will suffice to state that when the Constitutional Government controlled but an insignificant portion of the country,—precisely at the time when "dollars" were so much needed for the purchase of war material—several hundred professors were sent to the principal centers of learning in the United States for the purpose of procuring the best data available, and on their return suggest the adequate reforms in school matters that should be introduced in Mexico.

Subsequently, in spite of the great and innumerable difficulties which seemed to obstruct every step of the Government, it has been made possible considerably to increase the number of schools already existing before the Revolution, so much so that in some of the States the number has been even doubled. Important city improvement works have been carried out in Mexico, Saltillo, Queretaro, Veracruz, etc., and the dredging of the Panuco River is about to be started, it having been specified in the

*ALBERTO J. PANI*

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relative contract that the soil to be dug out shall be used to fill in the marshy belt that surrounds Tampico, whereby the chief cause of the unhealthiness of that city will be made to disappear.

In short, in order that the Government that has sprung from the Constitutional Revolution may carry out its program of public betterment, which implies the physical and moral hygienizing of Mexico, the only thing it needs is to be given the time within which it may be humanly possible to do it. Only by some sort of magic art could it in a moment transform a set of human beings into a choir of angels and a piece of the earth into a Paradise.

Philadelphia, Penn.

November the 10th. 1916.

REVOLUTIONARY DESTRUCTION  
AND  
GOVERNMENTAL RECONSTRUCTION

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Address of welcome to the Members of the First National Congress of Merchants.



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Mr. President,

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

My first and foremost duty on this occasion is to express my deep appreciation to both the national and the foreign Chambers of Commerce, of the benevolence with which they have accepted the idea of convening this First National Congress of Merchants. My gratitude, indeed profound, is proportionate to the satisfaction which a true revolutionary feels when pondering the significance of this Congress, which means that the *commercial community throughout the whole country have joined the revolution.*

*The armed struggle having come almost to an end* and constitutional order—interrupted by the execrable military uprising of “La Ciudadela”—having been reestablished, the present Government can be nothing but the Revolution itself, politically instituted to give tangible and actual form to its noble ideals of the regeneration of a people who during the lapse of well nigh four hundred years, has not been permitted to lead but an abominable, crouching life full of misery and privation. If the Government then is the genuine political incarnation of the Revolution, the National Commercial Community diligently hearkening to the invitation tendered by the former, adheres to its lofty purposes of popular regeneration and openly declares itself for the Revolution.

If, on the other hand, the Commercial Community succeed in shaping their future conduct to this profession of faith—as it is to be hoped—they will deserve well of their country. And it cannot be otherwise: after the present inaugural session, which—as I have just pointed out—is above all, the *solemn oath under the law* taken

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by the Commercial Community before the President of the Republic, in the presence of the Honorable Diplomatic and Consular Corps, in order that the resonance of this act be carried in all its loftiness beyond our boundaries and spread over the whole of the civilized world; once this formal and solemn promise of cooperation with the Government in its arduous task of renovation has been made; after so clamorous a manifestation of patriotism from a whole community—the one possessing perhaps the greatest moral influence of all—no one, absolutely no one, will ever dare to break the word now pledged.

Where then, in brief, lies the path that the Commercial Community must follow if they are to live up to the covenant they have made with the Government? Simply that which the public weal shall mark out to them.

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It is a well known fact that our social community economically is constituted—through causes that date back to the Conquest and whose influence

is felt even in our own days—by two sole groups, the *wealthy* and the *poor*; that those in *exalted positions*, the strong, although constituting an insignificant minority, have exerted a decisive influence on the administration for the purpose of placing at the disposal of their personal interests not only the superiority of wealth, but also political power, the sovereignty of the State, administrative force; that those in *humble life*, the weak, although in an overwhelming majority, have been the despoiled, the starved, the ignorant, passive members of the political, life, similar to slaves, to serfs; and as a necessary consequence of a co-existing, invincible, antagonism between the two groups, the atmosphere has reeked with hatred, rancor and mistrust. Under social conditions, fraught with such defects, it is easy to comprehend that our sickly national organism should almost exclusively and only too frequently have been shaken by bloody *struggles of classes*, hindering its progress of evolution, ruthlessly condemning it to be ever swinging backward and forward—as if governed by the synchronic movement of a fatal

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pendulum—between the bane of a dictatorship, and, a thousand times worse, that of anarchy.

The Porfirian dictatorship, was the longest of all, and too, was that which most deepened the abyss separating the two groups already mentioned, through the effects produced by the economic progress attained, and the scandalous degree of corruption into which the higher classes had sunk-en. Hence it comes that the successive swinging of the pendulum of our misfortunes in the opposite direction, should necessarily have had to mark the most relentless and bloody intestine war recorded in Mexican history.

When the vindictive movement of 1910 was initiated, after a very brief struggle and yielding principally to the enormous weight of public opinion, the dictatorship consented to compromise in a minimum degree with popular demands—alone considering those of a purely political nature—and to place the Revolution on the road to constitutionalism, merging it so to speak into the dictatorial government, or rather the former being absorbed by the latter. This agreement magnanimously accepted

by the revolutionary Leader, with the manifest purpose of averting a calamitous war, now bears —in the light of the horrifying events that followed —the aspect of a trap skilfully laid by the dictatorship. In truth, after a brief interregnum of relative and but apparent tranquility—in reality of cryptic activities and disloyalty, of intrigue and plotting—the monied and clerical reaction incarnated in a loathsome lombrosian specimen, again usurped power and rewarded the nameless crimes of their hero, grotesquely attempting to invest him—by the very proceedings whereof it availed itself to smother the vindictive conflagration almost at its very birth—with the elevated office of constitutional president.

Fortunately, however, the bloody triumphs of usurping violence—which lack the guarantee of duration that justice and right alone impart—have ever lasted but a short time. Although the reaction found support in the army and in the Powers of the Federation and of almost all of the States—an unquestionable proof of the corrupting influence of the past dictatorship—the people once again took

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up arms in defense of their insulted rights. The Plan of Guadalupe which—with an audacity bordering on heroism and relying solely on the excellence of the principles whence it originated and the object it pursued, without falsehoods, nor chimerical promises of any kind, nor any of that bombastic and empty literature contained in the hundreds of “revolutionary proclamations” recorded in our history—proclaiming in the simplest manner the resolution to disown the illegality of the usurping regime and to use violence to destroy it, and entrusting the supreme command to a popularly elected functionary—the then Constitutional Governor of Coahuila—condensed with admirable sincerity and precision the most imperative needs of the country at that solemn and historical moment and succeeded in unifying the liberating movement. And, the Revolution—having learnt a lesson from very harsh and very recent experience—spread with an irresistible and sweeping onrush from victory to victory over the whole Republic, annihilated the Federal Army and obstreporously overthrew the Government of the usurper.

The struggle did not end here. In a community such as ours, so imperfectly constituted, antagonism between classes—emphasized by economic progress, as happened particularly during the latter part of the Porfirian dictatorship—always brings about a greater mental inequality and a general lowering of the moral standard: what the upper classes gain in intelligence, in technical and economic capacities, they lose in political and social virtues; whilst the lower classes besides remaining at a much lower level as regards intellectual culture and technical and economic capacities, at the same time partially lose their former virtues of discipline, frugality, &c., without the loss being immediately of the same or of a more elevated character. Thus then the lack of consciousness or of morality, or of both, of a good many in the revolutionary ranks—important factors in anarchy—presented the Reaction a propitious field wherein to display its marvellous skill for corruption, and the division in the Vindictive Army was wrought, through the infidelity of the Northern Division, at the very moment when the people celebrated the total disappearance of the Federal Army.

This phase of the struggle—which begins towards the end of 1914 with the chaos brought about by the dismemberment of the revolutionary organism and which might be called despite that original chaotic condition, one of *political purification and strengthening* of that organism, since the *moral purification* was hardly initiated by the former — is characterized by the efficient work of administrative and political reorganization of the Preconstitutional Government, in harmony with the general outlines for the reconstruction of the country, sketched in the memorable decree of the 12th, of December 1914, and by a brilliant campaign carried on against treason, much bloodier and much more destructive than all the preceding ones, because in civil war fury is ever proportionate to the degree of affinity between the contending parties.

The faithless once annihilated and the revolutionary organism politically purified and strengthened, it became possible to reestablish constitutional order in the country, not however through proceedings vainly masked with a false appearance of legality, such as were employed by the Reaction

in its attempt to appoint their "Hero" with a dignity criminally usurped, but through the unavoidable mandate of the sovereign will of the people. The people therefore, when ratifying the confidence they had placed in the Chief of the Revolution, by conferring upon him the high office of Constitutional President of the United Mexican States, has wished to signify beyond any doubt, that the present Government of the Republic could not and should not be—as I said before—anything less than the Revolution itself, politically instituted to carry into effect the principles of popular regeneration, which it has proclaimed and that have cost such torrents of blood and tears.

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From the preceding brief summary must be deduced with all the force of invincible logic, that if the Revolution has brought or is about to bring to an end the military campaign against the enemies of order and progress, it should most diligently follow up—in order that the blood and tears that have been shed may crystalize in actual benefit to the country—that other no longer milita-

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ry but now peaceful campaign of reconstruction of the nation upon bases that through their stability and resistance shall insure or at least make possible the unlimited development and evolution of the Mexican people. This work of reconstruction — very much more difficult and slower than the destructive work of arms—consists then of two parts:—the recovery of the aggregate amount of material and moral welfare lost—because war always involves a retrogression to a lower level of civilization—and the cure, so to speak, of the serious disease of economic constitution under which our community labours.

In the same way as the Constitutional ex-Governor of Coahuila and Chief of the Revolution appealed to the patriotism of the citizens to adhere to the popular cause and take up arms, and organized armies and carried on a military campaign —this being what the salvation of the country imperatively demanded—this same Chief of the Revolution—a title which the Mexican people have substituted for that of Constitutional President of the United Mexican States—now also appeals

to the patriotism of the citizens to adhere to the popular cause and cooperate with him towards organizing the *pacific armies* that are to start the campaign of reconstruction which, consolidating the military triumphs, is now to save the country. This is the reason why—and in accord with the fatal deduction to be inferred both from the study of our dissents and of all *struggles between classes* in every country of the world, viz. that democracies have never been able to consolidate their military triumphs, in peace, by merely setting against the defeated class their hatred and incompetency—that is why, I say, the Government commences by the celebration of the present Congress, a salutary work of cooperation with the people, in order satisfactorily to resolve the momentous problems concerning the different forms of activities of the life of the nation.

In this respect, the cooperation of the Commercial Community with the Government of the Republic does not only signify a harmonious collaboration, a convergence of efforts towards one point—the moralization, the intensification and

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development of the commercial activities of the country—interchange of information, &c., but it also signifies *advice*, whereby the people may the better profit by the especialistic competition of their experts. I said something on another occasion which I wish to repeat now:—"Our susceptibility as public functionaries cannot be hurt if we agree —nor may we do otherwise—that our political and administrative organization, yet in swaddling clothes, must necessarily go through a period of *infancy* during which the blunders will be the general rule and the contrary the exception. In order to succeed, with the aid of a mature experience, in reversing the order of these terms, we must trample all selfishness under foot and not allow bastard passions to introduce discord among us, and we must consolidate our debilities by ever more and more strengthening that only bond of union that brings true citizens together: the love of country."

"And the least that patriotism may demand of us now, in our capacity as public functionaries, is humility, wherewith to accept advice; serenity

of judgment prudently to select it; and persevering and unflinching honesty to put it into practice."

But if active and mutual cooperation, unswervingly patriotic and unselfish on the part both of the Commercial Community and of the Government, is necessary to recover what has been lost through the war in material welfare and in morals —in so far as regards the commercial activities of the country—it is even more necessary if the exhausted organism of the nation is to be restored to health and enabled to live a healthy normal life. A community which is principally composed of a few privileged ones and of a great mass of proletarians, wherein the former are able rapidly to accumulate fabulous wealth with immense facility regardless of personal savings or work, and regardless too of the personal savings or work of their forefathers, and the latter find themselves in the material impossibility of rising to the category of capitalists, is destined to be transformed into a mass composed of naught but parasites and beggars, in the end disappearing after a more or less protracted yet most violent and painful agony.

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This is, then, a serious pathological condition, revealed by the almost uninterrupted brutal *struggles* between *classes*, a condition to which it is imperative to find a remedy. Wherefore extraordinary joint efforts must be made tending to the intellectual, moral and economic regeneration of the proletarian, and to the formation and encouragement of an autonomous MIDDLE CLASS.

"Everybody is interested—says the Belgian "Deputy Cooreman—in the betterment of the "moral and material condition of the working "classes and they are right.... But the preservation, the prosperity of the middle class is no less just, and public interests demand that its existence be not jeopardized. It is important to social equilibrium that the differences between the wealthy and the working classes be harmonized by the middle class, characterized by the union, in the same hands, of capital and labour. If harmony is to reign in society it is indispensable that there be in the social ladder, between the top and the bottom rungs, a series of other

"intermediate ones uniting the two extremes by  
"gradations more numerous rather than more  
"distant apart."

*The revolutionary tendency is not directed towards a utopic socialistic levelling: its social ideal is to permit every man to obtain from the aggregate sum of wellbeing acquired by the whole community, a part proportionate to his personal contribution of labour, intelligence and economy.*

Be pleased, Gentlemen, Delegates to this Congress, to contribute with all the might and strength whereof you may be capable, to the realization of so lofty an ideal of justice and..... *be ye welcome.*

México, D. F.

July the 12th. 1917.

THE UNDERSTANDING  
BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT  
AND COMMERCE

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Toast proposed at the banquet given by the Board of Directors of the National Chamber of Commerce of the City of Mexico to the Delegates to the Congress.



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Gentlemen:

I am requested by the President of the Republic to convey to each and all of you together with his most cordial greetings his deep appreciation of the courteous invitation to this banquet tendered to him by the National Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, and to express his regrets at his inability to be present on this occasion. Having fulfilled the commission entrusted to me, and as the Presidential Representation weighs so heavily upon my shoulders overwhelming me to the extent of almost rendering me speechless, I shall again assume my own modest personality and proceed.... on my own account.

I had the good fortune—which I now declare with immense satisfaction and delight—of having

had the opportunity of producing two contacts and thereby two currents; the one of mutual understanding, the other of affection and sympathy.

The first contact is, so to speak, not material, yet fruitful in benefits to a whole people: a contact between abstractions called "Government of the Republic" and "National Commerce." The mere contact between these two entities having taken place amid bursts of enthusiasm—a sure omen that that gust of fraternity shall sweep away the secular mutual hatred and rancor of our classes everlastingly at loggerheads with one another,—promises well for the resurgence of a reinstated, sound, and great country. It matters not whether the discussions sustained within the National Congress of Merchants deviated from the path of order, sometimes degenerating in disputes; neither are the momentary despondency of some nor the overflowing lyricisms of others of any account; it is of no consequence either that at times may have been forgotten the parable which I took the liberty of referring to you on the occasion of another banquet, and that the Congress should

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have been lavish of its generosity proffering advice in excess of what was asked for....

Apropos of this, as the Congress perhaps for this reason has found it necessary to extend its sessions over another week, it might not now be amiss to open a parenthesis in order to repeat the parable—as repetition always helps to fortify the memory or to convince—not however without first quoting the words of Jesus Christ: “He who hath ears let him hear,” and those others of eloquent popular wisdom: “To the quick of understanding little need be said”.

“Satan was criticizing God—says the parable—for having created advice, that impudent personage indiscreet and obstinate, which is of no earthly use and makes the faithful servants of God the laughing stock of others. Make no confusion and remember—answered the Holy Spirit—that I created the advice that is asked for and thou the one that is proffered”.

Closing the parenthesis, and with all due apologies, I shall proceed.... I was saying, in short, that neither the disorder occasioned by the

passing excess of enthusiasm, nor the mistakes originating from inexperience, nor the pathological pessimism which infests the soul and kills ideals, nor the optimism, pathological too, which only builds castles in the air, nor the advice which has not been asked for, even though it come from Satan, should be a cause for discouragement; in spite of all this and much more which possibly might happen, I hold to my indestructible confidence, I feel satisfied, and I congratulate you upon the work you have accomplished. The reason is that the contact between the Government and the Body Commercial has been made and therefrom shall be produced the spark to indicate the Mexican people the road leading to the Promised Land.

The second contact is material and was produced by effusive handshakes between the representatives of Commerce from all over the Republic, who had never met before and who were here assembled to celebrate the First National Congress of Merchants. The current of friendship thus established will contribute a great deal more to consolidate and harmonize the commercial interests

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

of the country than six months of commercial correspondence.

I likewise congratulate myself upon having brought you in contact with the President of the Republic, who has shaken hands with you with his characteristic frankness. I firmly believe that the Government would gain immensely throughout the whole country, if all the inhabitants were to become acquainted with him as you have been. I think that it would gain a great deal abroad too, if at least they knew over there that Mr. Carranza had a human figure. This reminds me of a certain anecdote:—

An American in New York was seeking information on Mexico from a foreigner, who like many others, had suffered from the consequences of the Revolution. Speaking of the men of the Revolution the American asked:—

“Who is general Zapata?”

“A bandit chief,” answered the foreigner.

“And general Villa?”

“Another bandit chief”.

“And general so and so?”

"Another bandit chief".

"And general this and general that?"

"Other bandit chiefs".

"And general Carranza?"

"Oh! he is the First Chief!"

Yes, Gentlemen, during the struggle he was the Chief of many patriots and of many bandits too, because armed revolutions are made with armies that kill and destroy and not with choirs of archangels. And now, as President of the Republic, he is the Chief of many functionaries, employees and servants of the Nation, both honest and patriotic, and he may also be the Chief of certain bandits, because the work of moralization cannot be accomplished as by magic in an instant.

But Mr. Carranza professes the theory, constantly corroborated by the history of humanity, that social institutions can only be durable and prosperous when supported upon bases of the strictest morality. That is the reason why the first subject included in the programme which the Government submitted to the consideration of the Congress of Merchants, refers to the moralization

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of the merchant. That is also why the irresistible strength of character of Mr. Carranza resisted all the calamities entailed by the struggle, like a mass of granit, like an immovable mountain; and his triumph signifies the political purification of the revolutionary organism, which is the necessary preparation and beginning—as I have stated on another occasion—of the moral purification which the present Government most zealously pursues.

I therefore drink, Gentlemen, that the sparks produced by the contacts which I have had the good fortune to bring about, may kindle a new sun of fraternity and justice to shine upon and give warmth and life to the enfeebled people of Mexico.

Chapultepec Restaurant

July the 30th. 1917.



## THE MEXICAN POPULAR UNIVERSITY

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A toast proposed at the banquet  
given by the delegates to the First  
National Congress of Merchants.





before parting—to a fact, which though in itself may seem insignificant, I must not allow to pass by unnoticed, because it specially commands my gratitude while at the same time does you great honour: I refer to the financial assistance which some of the Delegates to the First National Congress of Merchants have rendered the worthy Mexican Popular University.

That Institution, as all of you are aware, came into existence shortly before the Military Uprising of the "Citadel," nurtured with the warmth of the healthy and juvenile enthusiasm of the Athenaeum of Mexico. Its extraordinary vitality—which resisted the demolishing assaults of the most destructive and sanguinary Revolution recorded in our history—is the mechanic resultant of two forces; that of the sublime ideal of its progenitor and that of an heroic abnegation, a veritable apostleship courageously and perseveringly exercised by its Rector and a small group of men who succeeded in keeping aglow the sacred fire of the Professorial Staff enlightening many consciences clouded by ignorance—in the midst of the dan-

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gers, hardships and calamities of the general catastrophe.

My heartfelt love of the Mexican Popular University is due to the following circumstances:— I was, unworthily withal, a member of the Athenaeum and the first Rector of the University. In this connection I must needs own candidly that I was but a passive member of the Athenaeum; but on the other hand, in my capacity as Rector of the University, I feel proud of having done something to its benefit, perhaps the only thing, but very great and very good, namely having resigned the Rectorship and placed it in the competent and disinterested hands of Dr. Alfonso Pruneda.

Moreover I am fervently in love with the ideal of culture pursued by the Institution, which moreover I regard as revolutionary,—in the proper sense of the word—because it aims, with its persevering and wise teachings at raising the moral and intellectual standard of the proletariat, without which, the economic betterment—which the latter justifiably demands—might in certain cases prove useless or injurious.

*A L B E R T O J. P A N I*

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For all these reasons, Gentlemen, the financial aid to which I have referred, commands my gratitude and does honour to those who tendered it.

I drink then, Gentlemen, to the Delegates to the First National Congress of Merchants, who, as benefactors of the Mexican Popular University, have deserved well of their Country and of Humanity.

San Angel Inn,  
August 5th, 1917.

# **THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRATIC POLICY**

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Address of welcome to the Delegates  
of the First National Congress of  
Industrials.



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Mr. President,  
Gentlemen of the Congress,  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is barely four months ago that, from this very platform and under these same vaults and in circumstances very similar to the present ones, I had the honour, of addressing in the name of the Government, the Delegates from the national and foreign Chambers of Commerce—assembled solemnly to inaugurate the work of the First National Congress of Merchants—and during that very short lapse of time, we have witnessed with joyful astonishment the vigorous movement of cooperative organization developed by the Body Commercial throughout the Country, with a view to regulating not only the relations between the respective Chambers already or that

may hereafter be established, for their own benefit, but also the relations which should bind these institutions to the Government for the general benefit of the Nation. It is that the propelling force of this movement—the only one capable of opposing the dissolvent and awful effects of anarchy—has been patriotism further encouraged by the directors of the movement. It has been *conscious*, because it has known how to harmonize private, or class interests, with those of the community, and *lofty*, because it has been able morally to solve the conflicts of fictitious or real antagonism between both, and adjust itself—not with resigned submission but with frank good will—to the ethical hierarchy of interests which always places those of the public over those of the individual. Behold, for example, that group of altruists, detailed from the Congress of Merchants, and known by the name of "*the committee on corn*", unselfishly collaborating with the Government in the work of mercy of *feeding the hungry*, if not precisely in the archaic charitable form which humiliates and debases, certainly in the modern and

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

more efficacious form of economic competition, which stimulates activities and invigorates and victoriously combats criminal speculation, with a view to lowering the price of corn and placing it within reach of the destitute.

What better opportunity to recall these things than the occasion of the opening of the First National Congress of Industrials? Indeed it is through the patriotic work of the merchants, now continued by the industrials, that one is better able to obtain a glimpse of the possibility of a future vigorous resurgence of the Country—in spite of all the calamities that surround us and all the obstacles opposing us from within and from without—filling in the fathomless abysses of blood and tears which divide our society, by perseveringly endeavouring to bring all in touch with one another and forge the closest bonds of union, fellowship and love.

In fact, after the long and painful *via crucis* of its *class struggles* its wounds still bleeding, and in a state of almost complete exhaustion, the Country, precisely when its reconstruction is

about to begin, that is, the restoration of all the material and moral wellbeing lost in the late strife, and the cure of its disease of economic and social constitution, revealed by the duration and fury of the struggles just mentioned, the Country, I say, labouring under such difficult internal conditions, furthermore feels its situation now extraordinarily aggravated by the inevitable consequences of the present universal conflagration.

The broad road which the patriotism of the merchants has opened to the effective cooperation of the people with the Government, principally when the first act of friendly solidarity between National Industry and the Government is taking place—since commerce is but one of the manifold forms of industrial activity and many industrials, therefore, are likewise merchants—offers an occasion the most propitious for us to make at least a brief, yet sincere, examination of conscience, with the purpose and the certainty—since you, gentlemen, are the worthy continuators of the patriotic work begun by the merchants—of being able to

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regulate our conduct both present and future for the good of the Country, even at the cost of our own individual welfare. What sacrifice would be shirked in view of the assurance of saving the Country from a near and imminent danger and of endowing it with a greater general prosperity?

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As an everlasting reproach to mankind, *the cruelty of man towards his fellow beings* is one of the characteristics which most distinguishes him from all other superior animals. While the latter, indeed, give such beautiful proofs of solidarity between the individual members of each species, *man—whose worst enemy has ever been man himself*—in view of the insuperable difficulties of adaptation, in relation to his primitive rudimentary equipment, *found not the least embarrassment in resorting to murder and anthropophagy.*

Whether humanity had its origin—according to the Bible—in a sin committed through love in

Paradise, or whether intelligence, in its natural evolutive process, passing on to a superior state—viz; that of man in his primitive state with regard to that of the animal—has carried with it the germ of wickedness, the fact is that egoism and rapacity, combined in a purely utilitarian criterion, have been the most powerful motives of the conduct of mankind. Hence it is that industrial progress—particularly agricultural progress—while allowing the activities of the vanquished to be turned to the best account for the benefit of the conquerors, should have contrived that the latter domesticate the former—as was done with beasts of burden—and that their total extermination and anthropophagy should have been substituted by slavery. The first flashes of liberty—which has the virtue of rendering labour more productive—made their appearance with servitude. The gradual smoothening of uses and customs and *right*—the functions of which, as we all know, “*consist in adapting man to the social medium in which he lives*, fixing his conditions of co-existence,”—are derived from the same source. The iniquitous parasitic relations

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between the oppressing minority and the oppressed majorities begot, through the stubborn resistance of the social classes, the democratic ideal which embodies the holy aspirations of human dignity.

But the lines in which humanity has most advanced, naturally, are those marked by material interests. Thus it is that in the moral order, although there be an immeasurable distance between primitive systematic anthropophagy and the present philanthropy of some, modern civilization, from the sermon of the mountain, that is, during the lapse of almost two thousand years, has striven to impregnate the spirit of man with Christianity, and the most civilized nations of the world are now engaged in a war without precedent, wherein, in order to exterminate one another, they make use of all the material and technical resources of a portentous industrial progress, without having pity even on women or passengers on transatlantic steamers—absolutely foreign to the conflict—and it is even said that human corpses are made use of for industrial purposes.

In the political order, the history of every nation has undertaken to write, in letters of blood and

fire, the bare-faced apothegm: *power was made to be abused.* Indeed, *government which*—according to Spencer—“*was born of aggression and for aggression,*” initiated by the despotic military rule—which is the worst and most odious of all known forms of government—by means of brutal struggles which have torn to pieces the entrails of humanity, has passed through the theocratic and aristocratic regimens—with the plausible purpose of making an ever increasing portion of the people participants of public power and thereby reducing the number of the despoiled—until it has attained an apparently democratic form. I say *apparently democratic*, because perhaps Switzerland alone excepted—where property is relatively well distributed, a third part of the total number of inhabitants being industrials, the latter in some places amounting to even 75%, and where the irritating spectacle may not be witnessed of “a certain class of idle rich who muddle the minds of, and with their arrogant display of wealth humiliate, those who work and suffer”—the countries who most boast

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of having best realized their political evolution, have not got beyond a kind of *plutocracy*, more or less corrupted by *professional proliiticians*, leeches that suck the blood of the Treasury and corrode social institutions.

In brief, industrial progress, wherein egoism has played so important a part and which has been the result of the struggle between man and nature with a view to better and more amply to satisfy the primary necessities of life and many additional ones originated by the former—given the infinite extensibility of human necessities—and of the instinctive tendency to economize efforts directed to that purpose—since effort implies labour—has contributed successive modifications to the social organization, in the manners and customs, and in *right*, according as it has made man on earth more adaptable and thus brought about *world evolution*.

If therefore the perfecting of humanity in every order of its material and spiritual activities is a condition of the evolution of industry; if the formidable war wherein are implicated the most

civilized countries of the world—where nations are bent on annihilating other nations, sweeping away the lives of men and destroying wealth accumulated by years of labour of many generations—merely reveals an *imperfect adaptation of those countries* on earth; if our chronic intestine struggles—where brothers strive to annihilate their brothers, sweeping away lives and destroying wealth accumulated by years of labour of their own ancestors—are symptomatic of an *even more imperfect adaptation*; what other consideration could better enhance the exceptionally extraordinary importance of the celebration of a Congress of Industrials at this supreme moment of national life?

Thus then, the satisfactory solution to the internal and external difficulties which hinder the restoration of the Country, its invigoration and its ultimate free and evolutive development, whatever be its attitude towards the European conflict and whatever also be the result of that conflict, will considerably depend on its industrial activity. Allow me to repeat it, Gentlemen, the salvation of the Country is almost in your own hands....

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

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On its part the present Government of the Republic as the legitimate offspring of a revolution which holds, among its most lofty aspirations to deserve the glory of *being the last* to stain with blood and devastate the mother Country—so that future generations may recognize its sanctity and canonize it amid blessings—born of an *armed aggression*, for this is the fatal destiny of countries barely initiated in the difficulties of political evolution, but conscious of the duty which its primogeniture imposes upon it, far from intending to *abuse power and to commit aggressions*, called upon the merchants yesterday, it calls upon the industrials to-day, and tomorrow and the day after it will call upon all the other active classes of the community, that they may participate in the functions of the public administration, the proper discharge of which bears so greatly upon its prosperity.

No one will dare to deny that such democratic tendencies carried, if it were possible, to the

complete blending of the Government with the social mass, would necessarily produce the perfect coordination of all national interests.

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In order that the task of the Government to democratize society may reach its full development and turn the Country into a Paradise, or at least, not sadly to lose the fruits of the attempts that are being made in this direction, it is urgent—pressingly and immediately urgent—to proceed to correct our defective economic constitution, which is barely but the *existence only of rich and poor*, with its opposite extremes of *parasitic opulence and mendicant poverty*. It is therefore necessary to bring these troublesome extremes together by *moralizing the upper classes, building a bridge of an autonomous middle class and bettering the material conditions of the lower classes*.

The inappellable sentence of the Redeemer of mankind, that *it is easier for a camel to pass*

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

*through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven,* relieves me from having to engage your benevolent and already tired attention in regard to the first point.

As a repetition is never out of place when an evil should be pointed out for the purpose of remedying it—and the evil in question is so grievous that it may be regarded as the determining cause of the greatest national misfortunes—I take the liberty of transcribing the following words of the Belgian deputy Cooreman, notwithstanding having quoted them on another occasion:

“..... It is important to social equilibrium “that the differences between the wealthy and the “working classes be harmonized by *the middle class*, characterized by the union, in one “and in the same hands, of capital and labour. “If harmony is to reign in society it is indispensable that between the top and the bottom rungs “of the social ladder, there be a series of other “intermediate ones connecting the two extremes “by gradations more numerous rather than more “distant apart.”

The distribution of real estate among the greatest possible number of people and *the promotion of small industries*, as preponderant, and almost decisive, factors in the formation of an *autonomous middle class*, would therefore very powerfully contribute to correct the effects to which our economic constitution is subject and in future to prevent the consuetudinary sufferings of the Country.

The most natural and therefore the best means of solving the third point—concerning the betterment of the material conditions of the proletariat—consists in provoking a great demand of labour, that is, in *determining, by efficient efforts, the maximum development, compatible with our own conditions, of small and large industries*.

Although the limitation “*compatible with our conditions*”, made in the preceding statement, makes the solution of the problem possible, in view of the magnitude and number of difficulties which it presents—somewhat lessened, 'tis true, by the fabulous potential productivity of our soil, capable of feeding and enriching a population many times greater than that now contained in the Republic—it is necessary

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to lay down this problem rationally and patriotically in order that our activities be not lamentably consumed by absurd empiricisms or bastard political expediencies.

Nature—being blind and therefore perhaps not susceptible of falling into wicked temptations--never deviates from *the lines of least resistance*, that is, from the lines which mark the directions wherein *the expense of energy is minimum* in relation to the yield; such is generally its process, immutable, active, determined and limited to the particular case in question in the industrial history of all the countries of the world. Everybody knows —no matter how ignorant—that every scientific discovery, every improvement in the implements in the system of work, in transportation, etc. has pointed out *new lines of least resistance to human effort*, which—notwithstanding the transitory disturbances consequent on all reforms or change of direction and the energetic protests of created interests—have always satisfied, by a more abundant and cheaper production, a greater number of necessities and increased general well-being. Now as these industrial

improvements are prompted by the inducement to economize efforts—not so much to diminish the labour involved, as it originally happened, as to resist the ruinous economic effects of the *concurrence* of other similar efforts—it must necessarily be deduced that the *supression of the free economic concurrence would bring about the disasters consequent on the paralization of industrial progress.*

From the foregoing, simple but irrefutable argumentation—because shunning the petulant audacity of pretending to create, I have modestly and sincerely merely traced my argument on Nature and History—the two following general conclusions may be drawn, constituting, so to speak, the moulds wherein the relative policy of the Government should be cast, in order to revive and invigorate the national organism, viz:

First: *to promote, by every lawful means available, the exploitation of the natural resources of our soil, the manufacturing industries which are derived from such exploitation and, preferably among them all, those which respond to the primary necessities of human life,* would be equivalent to

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localizing *the lines of least resistance* in the general exploitation of the Country and to directing all its productive activities along the same channel towards a greater national prosperity; and,

Second: *partially or totally to eliminate the interior or exterior economic concurrence*, in order to promote, by means of privileges, certain national industries, or by means of tariffs, *those exotic industries which only can prosper within the incubator of official protection*, would be equivalent to halting the material progress of the Country, and with the high prices consequent on every monopoly and the injustice of favouring a few at the expense of all the rest, general uneasiness would become considerably intensified.

We may therefore say, in brief, that *the securing, extracting and transforming the natural products of our soil and free national and international economic concurrence* are the two principal terms of the formula of our industrial policy.

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But.... —it may be objected—once peace has been restored in Europe, if those countries which are most intimately connected with ours from a commercial point of view, should persist in their traditional protectionist policy, would not the diametrically opposed tendency of the preceding formula produce a contrary effect? No, a thousand times, no.

Those countries will then find themselves in the necessity—as we are now—of speedily and efficaciously repairing the tremendous aggregate of forces whereof the war has ruthlessly deprived their industrial progress, and for them that necessity will be the greater and more imperative, because after all, our Country was already poor—notwithstanding its marvellous potentiality—and even if during the recent intestine troubles it had consumed all it possessed, its total loss of material values would barely represent an infinitesimal fraction of what any of those other countries has suffered. Moreover, as the present *armed war*

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will indefectibly be followed by a *commercial war* and the only possibility of a real expansion of commerce will be furnished by a cheap and abundant production, that is, industrial activity following *the lines of least resistance* and subject to *free economic concurrence*, there are more than abundant reasons for presuming that the powerful intellectual movement in favour of free trade carried on by the above named countries before the war, will, on the advent of peace, crystalize into tangible and definite facts, and that humanity will be redeemed by the material and moral benefits of a rational geographic distribution of labour over the whole world.

But should this not happen, should the countries who were formerly protectionists, through one of those inexplicable political compromises, maintain their former attitude of open rebellion against the inexorable laws of nature, on their account rather than ours, should we regret the evils that such a mistake might cause. It is not amiss here to recall the case of England:

In 1844, John Lewis Ricardo defined the free trade policy thus: "To free commerce from every

"hampering restriction, *without any heed to the customs duties which foreign governments may deem it expedient to lay on English goods.*" Two years after the *corn laws* were repealed; in 1851 the tariff was expurgated of 1,100 customs items and, since 1862, only tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, alcohol, wine and sugar, are dutiable articles, the duty being small and not considered protective but fiscal, owing to these commodities not being produced in England.

What was the result of such a policy? The English, trading principally with protectionist countries—since in the old Continent Belgium and the Netherlands alone, and in the new, none followed their example—were able to obtain the *maximum of benefit* from scientific discoveries as applied to industry and from improvements on transportation; and, notwithstanding that wages reached their topmost price in Europe—it must be noticed that then took place the miracle of the *parity of nominal and actual wages*—foreign custom houses were incapable of checking the sweeping onrush of the English commercial torrent.

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Granted—it may be said—but England is an old Country and industrially very much advanced. Would the same thing happen with Mexico? The authority of Yves Guyot in this matter banishes all doubt:

“Protection in the case of new nations would be equivalent to laying a burden on the shoulders of a child so as to permit him to struggle with an adult.”

“What of budding industries? These must, above all, provide themselves with tools and implements; would you have them pay dearer for them? Would you dare tax raw material?”

“New countries suffer much more by protection than old ones as illustrated by an example given by J. Novicow, in 1894: “Belgium possessed 115 “kilometers of railroads for every 10,000 square “kilometers of territory, while Russia only had “6. In Belgium no new ones need be constructed. “Russia needs 200,000 kilometers of new lines. “At the rate of 100,000 francs per kilometer there “results a total of twenty thousand million “francs. The benefit to Russia now, owing to its

"Government, represents 20 per cent. or be it four thousand million francs. Wherefore, with free trade, Russia would be able to build 200,000 kilometers for the amount required to build 160,000 kilometers; a difference, equal to its total present railroad system."

"For the same reason, with duties on iron and steel, the United States have overcharged their tools and implements by thousands of millions, to the benefit of the siderurgical *trusts*, and at the expense of the entire nation...."

Whence it is, that the only means of *taking* budding or protected industries in new countries *out of their swaddling clothes*, is free trade.

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The exposition of the democratic industrial policy would be incomplete should I not devote at least a few words to the thorny subject of the everlasting *conflicts between capital and labour*.

The form in which these conflicts present themselves and are solved—frequently aggravated by

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the immoderate egoism of the classes interested--is the thermometer that best reveals the prevailing regimen of a people, at a given epoch; the despoliation of the workmen by their employers--with the aid of the authorities—in oligarchies, to the extent of converting human beings into mere implements of labour, the replacing whereof costs nothing; or the despoliation of the employer by the workmen—also with the aid of the authorities—in disorganized or demagogic democracies, to the extent of rendering the progress of industrial work an impossibility.

In a well organized democracy neither of these two things can or should happen. If the industrial production or service which answers the imperative necessities of the community, requires, as an indispensable condition, the conjunction of the factors called *capital* and *labour*, it is obvious that the supreme obligation of the State to afford protection and guarantees—it being the representative and guardian of the common interests of the people—should tend constantly to maintain all the productive or working force of

that duality, that is, to prevent that the latter be disturbed, unbalanced or destroyed by official favour bestowed alone on one of its two constituent factors.

Whence we may deduce that neither the *employer* nor *the working mass*—it being intended to signify by the latter expresion either the entire body of workmen or that portion thereof that may perceptibly be influencial in the public production or service in question—has the right of paralising or reducing this production or service unjustifiably and to the appreciable injury of the community, and that therefore in the relative cases of paralization or reduction of industrial activity, the State has the imperative duty of intervening, in a manner the best fitted, in order to prevent or to repair the damages caused to public interests.

I cannot resist the very just temptation, which at this moment assails me, of pointing out two spots that shine forth brightly in the midst of the shadows projected by our natural atmosphere of disorganization. The one concerns the cotton mill

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owners who maintain their industrial establishments in activity, notwithstanding the losses they must surely have suffered by the decree that abolished the old duties on importation of cloths.

The other refers to a group of railroad men who—assembled in a recent convention—thus answered in a manner both simple and patriotic the slanderous accusation of intending to “walk out” for the purpose of obtaining an increase of salary: “We are convinced of the prevailing economic situation of the Country and we are not “the ones uselessly to aggravate it with any claims.”

The Government, through me, warmly congratulates both the former and the latter, and trusts that all the industrials and all the workmen throughout the Country will follow such edifying examples.

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Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have taken the liberty—on welcoming you on behalf of the Government—to embody into a whole the relative ideas emitted by the President of the

*ALBERTO J. PANI*

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Republic in his conversations, his toasts and his speeches, that they may be recorded in the minutes of the First Meeting of the Congress of Industrials—as the expression of *the Carranza doctrine on the industrial democratic policy*—convinced that your love of Country and of humanity will find means of building solidly, on the firm foundation of this doctrine, the majestic edifice of national reconstruction.

México, D. F., November 17th. 1917.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL PATH

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Statements made at the banquet given by the Secretary of Industry and Commerce to the Delegates to the First National Congress of Industrials.



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This is not a toast nor anything like it. In front of each seat a card has been placed clearly stating that "*there will be no toasts*" and I am certainly very far from intending to violate this injunction. I merely wish to *monopolize* the talking for a few moments—since the Code of Friendship sanctions this kind of *monopoly*—in order to make a few statements in connection with certain incidents that occurred at the First General Meeting of the Congress of Industrials, and if I stand up and raise my voice—interrupting *after-dinner talk*—it is only with the object that my words may be heard by all.

The discussions at that meeting hinged almost exclusively on the two following points:

First: The necessity of knowing whether the Delegates would enjoy the necessary guarantees for the free utterance of their ideas, with the object of (second) proceeding to the immediate study of certain amendments to the Federal Political Constitution, to serve as a basis and starting point for the subsequent work of the Congress.

As the delegates that initiated those discussions took it upon themselves at the same time to attack the Constitution, the Authors thereof and, as far as I understand, also the Government, and notwithstanding, they have afforded us the pleasure of now sitting at table with us, I need make no effort to try and prove that the Congress of Industriales—as happened with that of the Merchants—enjoys every guarantee under the law.

In order to pass upon the relevancy or irrelevancy of the second point, it will suffice to bear in mind that the Government, in view of the transcendental and pressing problems connected with the distressing conditions under which the country and none the less industry, are labouring, and given on the other hand the unquestionable re-

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lations of causality which bind both together, invited the industrials *earnestly to cooperate* in the study of these problems, that is, of the coordination of activities, the direction of all forces towards one same point in order that they may all be added together—and not subtracted from each other—and may thus produce the resultant of greatest national well-being. The fact of the industrials having so willingly accepted this invitation, signifies, therefore, their readiness to add their forces to those of the Government, practically directing the work of the Congress towards ends possibly realizable either immediately or in the near future and in perfect harmony with the present political conditions of the country.

But concerning the relative effects of cooperation with the Government, what are those political conditions that mark, so to speak, the limits of feasibility of the resolutions of the Congress of Industrials? We all know that the Constitution of 1917 has been written with the blood shed by the Mexican people in the recent struggle avenge-

ful of their rights—trampled under foot by infamous treachery—and that the present Government of the Republic—which is only the political incarnation of that avenging struggle—can see in this Constitution but the expression of the will of the people. If it is mistaken, misrepresented or incomplete, the Constitution itself under article 136, modestly opens the way to any amendments or additions wherewith the people may desire to improve it, but for that event it provides that such amendments or additions be passed by the Congress of the Union with the vote of two thirds of the Deputies present and be approved by the majority of the State Legislatures.

In view of the foregoing, to pretend that the *recommendations or votes* that the Congress of Industrials might submit to the consideration of the Government as the result of their work, should affect Constitutional amendments and governmental measures derived from the latter—at a time when legal order throughout the Republic has not even yet been reestablished—would be equivalent to the Delegates to the Con-

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

gress refusing their lights and activities to relieve the pressing necessities of the Country and of Industry, thereby sadly defrauding the hopes of the Government and of their constituents.

But I have the firm conviction that such will not be the case. I am not discouraged by the mistaken direction of the preliminary discussions, as neither was I by the disorder and mistrust with which the Congress of Merchants started on their work. The success of the First National Congress of Industrials, wholly guaranteed by the good sense and the love of country and of humanity of all of its members—will place me in a position to render favourable reports to the President of the Republic on the delicate commission entrusted to me to initiate and develop the policy of democratizing society, totally new in our long history of disturbances, commotions and assaults.

San Angel Inn, D. F.,  
November 26th, 1917.



## OUR DEMOCRATIC INITIATION

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Toast proposed by Eng. Alberto J. Pani, Secretary of Industry and Commerce, at the banquet given by the Delegates to the President of the Republic and the said Secretary of Industry and Commerce.



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Gentlemen:

At the last banquet—which it was my privilege to offer you—conformably to the maxim that “*might was made to be abused*” I forbade toasts notwithstanding which I myself proposed one. At to day’s banquet as *power* is not vested in me but in your worthy selves, in order to reply to Mr. Henkel I must needs first beg leave to do so.

This being granted, as is evidenced by your flatteringly loud applause I take the liberty of proceeding.

The President of the Republic when conferring upon me the distinguished honor of representing him on this occasion, specially requested me to

convey to you his cordial greetings and sincere appreciation of your courtesy in offering him this banquet. I shall transmit to him with all fidelity, my memory permitting, the timely remarks on the industrial problem of Mexico made by Mr. Henkel in his capacity as President of the First National Congress of Industrials, and I know that the President will value them in all their worth.

For my part, my gratitude has been profoundly increased towards both each one of you and the host of national and foreign industrials whom you represent, because the mere celebration of the Congress and the enthusiastic zeal wherewith its work is being developed are unquestionable evidence of the healthy and vigorous growth of our incipient democracy.

Although I am not nor ever have been a politician, but have always felt repugnance rather than sympathy for that *craft*, I have allowed myself to be involved in the turbulent waves of politics, without yet knowing for certain whether I should attribute it to a conscious obedience of the voice of patriotism—the conditions of the

Country being so distressing as to impose this obligation upon every citizen—or to the unconscious and blind obedience to the mandates of the strange destiny of my life. This doubt assails me when I recall the immense number of circumstances impossible to have foreseen which have constantly turned my steps away from the path which my fancy or my purpose had already marked out. Indeed, following perhaps a natural inclination inherited from my grandparents—both of whom were physicians—I started on my professional studies with a truly juvenile enthusiasm, in the National School of Medicine; and I know not why or wherefore I graduated as an Engineer and after that.... I have had to practise on a great many occasions, as a Lawyer, Professor, or Architect.... I was precisely making some daring architectural stunts, when the revolution of 1910—transformed into Government by the first popular elections freely carried out in this Country—landed me unexpectedly in the Subsecretaryship of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. Thus from surprise on surprise, and most assuredly from blunder on

to blunder, because I have always trodden paths unknown to me, I have laboriously waded through the General Management of Public Works, the General Treasury of the Nation, the General Management of the Railroads, and a very delicate and important diplomatic mission, until I was laden with and now carry on my shoulders the heavy burden—not because of the aggregate of activities required for its discharge, but rather of the nature of the latter and the responsibilities therein involved—the heavy burden I say, of the Department of Industry and Commerce, probably because I ought to be classed among those of the revolutionaries of this last epoch, who least have devoted themselves to the pursuit of commercial and industrial c(g)rafts.

If therefore I were to take the teachings of the past as a basis logically to deduce what my situation ought to be to-morrow, I would have to conclude that Fate has in store for me precisely that for which I am least qualified; and prudence then should counsel me to reinforce my cloudy knowledge of the Bible and to begin to turn my

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

eyes in the direction of the Cathedral befittingly to take possession of it in a near future invested with the elevated and venerable dignity of Archbishop of Mexico....

Fate, with its cruel mockery, constantly thwarting my bents and inclinations and driving me on to the thorny fields of politics, where personally I have only been able to reap unjustifiable enmities and untold bitterness—has done me on the other hand the benefit of leaving me one sole religious worship—*that of truth*—which does not admit of euphemisms of speech nor hypocrisy of conduct—and of habituating me willingly to consult the best informed according as I have met insuperable difficulties. This is the principal reason for the gratitude I feel towards a Congress who openly express—whatever be the ultimate result of their work—the firm resolve of one of the most socially and economically influencial classes in the life of the Nation, to help in the study of the numerous and complex problems which are to be dilucidated in the Department under my charge.

There is yet still more. Without being a *professional politician*—as, I have just stated—I am a sincere democrat and know full well that in order to constitute a real *democracy*, neither the exercise of popular suffrage, because an unconscious or criminal demagogic may lead the people away from their own interests—as in effect has happened on numberless occasions—nor a liberal, wise and just Constitution, which the skill or the strength of a ruler may violate with impunity, are sufficient. It is furthermore necessary that the parasitic relations between the victors and the vanquished in the political struggles should not last; that the number of the despoiled be reduced to the utmost possible minimum or rather that there be no despoiled ones at all, that is, that the entire people efficiently take part in public affairs. And if the Congress of Industrials is only able to appreciate and make the proper use of the irresistible force of the bounty, talent and character of the present President of the Republic they will render the realization of this lofty ideal possible.

I therefore drink, Gentlemen, to all the Industrials of the Republic and to all of the Delegates

*ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY*

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whom they have patriotically sent us to increase our small fund of democracy with the First National Congress of Industrials.

Restaurant of Chapultepec, D. F.,  
December 9th. 1917.



AN INTERESTING RESEARCH  
CONCERNING  
POPULAR EDUCATION

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Mexico, July the 10th, 1918.

Mr. Carlos C. Valadez,  
General Manager of "*The Free Municipium*"  
City.

Dear Sir:

In reply to the open letter addressed to me and published by you in the 4th. number of the weekly "*The Free Municipium*"—the organ of all the Municipia of the Republic—in the first place I wish most sincerely to express to you my deep appreciation of the unmerited praise of which I am the object in your mentioned letter, as also of your kind invitation—which I hold as a great honour—to cooperate in the laudable efforts of your weekly "to endeavour to carry out the democratic task of establishing to its full scope, the Rudimentary Instruction of the illiterate." And with the noble purpose of carrying this into execu-

tion, you suggest—in the impossibility of the Federation to issue laws, concerning teaching, that shall be binding on the whole Republic—that the Republic petition the First Magistrate of the Nation to “institute a *Supreme Council of rudimentary instruction to synthesize the problem and suggest to the HH. Municipal Councils a resolution thereof, thus obtaining by the free will of the towns expressed in a municipal plebiscite*—already opened by the mentioned weekly—the establishment, embodiment, systematization and support of rudimentary instruction in Mexico.”

As you request my opinion on the subject and that I should collaborate with you towards its realization, I readily accept your invitation with all the enthusiasm which the fulfilment of the duties of good citizenship affords, confining myself however to the modest sphere of my capacity—which most assuredly precludes the candidacy to the Presidency of the aforementioned Council, with which you most courteously are pleased to honour me—and I proceed to answer the four questions included in your request:

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

Two of your questions read as follows:

"Do you think possible the establishment of a "Rudimentary Institution—uniform in its methods "and outlines—all over the Republic?"

"One of the most arduous details of the problem "being the support of the Rudimentary Schools, "do you not think that by resorting to the system "of *farm schools* the desired success would be "insured?"

A categorical reply to these questions really demands the prior solution of the problem involved from its two most important standpoints: viz. the pedagogical and the economic.

When I was Subsecretary of Public Instruction in 1912, I took the liberty of making a rough sketch of the solution to this problem, deduced precisely from the principal difficulties encountered in the application of the Decree on Rudimentary Instruction—viz. those derived from the technical defects of the Decree itself and the insufficiency of the budget—with a view of calling the attention of the public to the matter, and of rousing an interest in its study so as to procure their cooperation. Besides the authorized opinions

published in the press at the time, I have received some eighty opinions more, sent to me spontaneously and gratuitously, by actual specialists on the subject, or by mere amateurs, both national and foreign. I am at present engaged in extracting from and collecting those opinions—many of which throw a good deal of light on the real solution of the problem—and, together with my original study and the report and final conclusions to be formulated by a Pedagogical Committee of acknowledged competency, I shall in a near future publish a book by the express order of the President of the Republic.

I therefore take the liberty of postponing my answer to the two questions referred to in your letter, in order to send you a much more satisfactory reply, as coming from persons far more competent than myself—together with the first copy of the book I have just mentioned.

Another of your questions is:

“Do you approve of the Municipal Plebiscite “that we have opened to investigate whether the “National Town Councils will voluntarily accept

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

"the suggestions in reference to the "*supreme council*" which we propose?"

Without hesitation I say "yes", because it is a wholly democratic proceeding, and hence the form of policy is irreproachable.

Your last question reads:

"Will you support before the Supreme Head of the Nation the suggestion of the "*Free Municipal*" that there be instituted—solely in a capacity as a Technical Advisory Body—a "*supreme national council of rudimentary instruction*", whose functions shall be to study the manner of establishing a benefaction such as proposed throughout the whole of the country, in order to insure the reign of Democracy in Mexico."

No support is needed for the President of the Republic to uphold and promote, with all of the power wherewith he is invested, the patriotic tendency of directing towards one same end for its greater efficacy, so important a share of the Nation's efforts for the redemption of the people.

Renewing my profound thanks and the promise

*ALBERTO J. PANI*

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of my modest collaboration together with my very warm congratulations on the work that the "FREE MUNICIPIUM" is carrying out,

I beg to remain.

Faithfully yours,

A. J. PANI.

## OUR IDEAL OF UNIVERSAL SOLIDARITY

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Address delivered by Eng. Alberto J. Pani, Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labour, on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Commercial Museum of Mexico, which took place at 11 a. m. on Tuesday the 25th of June, 1918, at the Museum Building, No. 80 Avenida Juárez, City of Mexico



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Mr. President,

Gentlemen:

Commerce while providing Industry with raw material, Industry returning it transformed to supply the ever increasing and more intense wants of Humanity, the latter in brief PREFERENTLY devoting its energies to the manifold and heterogeneous activities connected with PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION—necessary not only to its growth but also to its material and psychical betterment—has presented the most admirable spectacle of its efforts of adaptation on earth and without doubt constituted the most valuable conquest of contemporary civilization.

The majority of men—among whom are the most advanced peoples of the world—at the pres-

ent moment, madly concentrating all their energies in the *destructive* activities of war, set forth their ancestral defects of *inadaptability* and undoubtedly also produce a lamentable phenomenon of *regressive evolution* or retrogression of civilization.

Fortunately, the former is a conquest which, due to its magnitude and nature, should not and cannot be lost; and the latter is merely an accident in the hazardous road of human life which, sooner or later, will have to be saved even if it be at the cost of many and most bloody sacrifices. It is to be hoped, on the other hand, that when that longed for moment of reconciliation arrives, in order to be able promptly to recover the enormous amount of wealth and morality consumed by the acute fever of war, and as far as possible to guard against subsequent relapses, Humanity having learned a lesson from the sufferings already undergone—the greater perhaps the more fruitful—without forgetting the real causes of the tremendous armed conflict and profiting by the industrial progress which it has provoked, will direct all its efforts towards the holy ideal of universal solidarity

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

and justice, in order to continue without further obstacles the redeeming work of civilization under the shadow of permanent peace.

Is this hope perchance a mere utopia? Such indeed seems to be the vehement desire of turning this *valley of tears* in which we live into a *universal field of happiness*. But in reality it marks and has always marked the point whereto converge all the tendencies and conquests of civilization, ever indicating successive amplifications of human solidarity, from the family or tribe in primitive society, to the religious sect or the ruling social class, in countries of incipient political organization—still shaken by frequent intestine struggles—or in others better and more permanently organized. Religions themselves—although they may have taken the wise precaution of only binding themselves to settle their accounts beyond the grave—have succeeded in flourishing and dominating only as long as they have been able to act the part of the civilizer as active factors of expansion of solidarity, and once having failed in this respect, the harmonious co-existence of a great

variety of religious and political creeds is possible in modern countries, because liberal principles—which are one of loftiest expressions of *patriotism*—command respect in regard to all those different ways of thinking and feeling, making *liberty* and *love of country* the strongest bonds of national union.

“A society—says Gustavo Le Bon—is not solidly constituted and the idea of fatherland which “leads to the defense thereof cannot exist but “when a national soul has been formed. Until this “soul has been formed, a people are an accumulation of barbarians capable of only momentary “cohesion without any permanent ties. When the “national soul becomes disintegrated, the people “return to barbarism. Rome perished when she “lost her soul. The invaders, who inherited her “ruins but not her greatness, spent many centuries “in the acquisition of that national soul in order “to escape from barbarism.”

It is a well known fact, moreover, that the moral standard of a nation is rather the measure of its civilization and strength than the extent and

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

wealth of the territory which it possesses or the number of individuals whereof it is composed; and as, on the other hand, "what is essential in a "nation or an individual—according to Renan—"is to have an ideal in view" no ideal is comparable to the individual and collective perfecting of self.

Present times, in truth, indicate the low moral level to which Humanity has fallen; certain countries oscillating between revolutionary anarchy with its sanguinary cohorts of violence and transgressions and despotic internal or external oppression with its hateful accompaniment of spoliation, privileges and injustices, while others—principally the more civilized because they have acquired certain better balanced forms of political and social organization—are being consumed by the flames of a formidable international conflagration. If then the former should at least acquire the minimum of morality necessary to make life merely possible in society—the rudimentary morality which demands obedience to the law and respect to authority—the average moral standard

of mankind would rise considerably and consequently fratricidal struggles being rooted out, material well-being would increase. If after that it were possible to go beyond the reduced limits of elemental morality as contained in the codes, every country rising to the standard of the principles which demand personal sacrifice on behalf of the interests of the community, the consolidation of the ambitions of the people strongly integrating the national soul, would insure its aggrandizement. If lastly Humanity should then exert itself and climb the next step of moral evolution—also eradicating the possibility of international wars—it would rapidly advance towards the already mentioned ideal of universal solidarity and justice—eternal, because the perspectives of betterment are unending and positive, because thereto fatally rushes the progress of civilization—causing *all the individuals of which each human aggregate is composed all the constituent human aggregates of each nation, and all the nations of the world, to march ever closely solidarized to the glorious conquest of an ever better material and moral life,*

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

*by producing the greatest possible universal welfare and justly distributing that same welfare.*

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The foregoing preamble, which has taken up a great portion of the space that I intended devoting to this discourse and that to some may seem foreign to the object for which we are now assembled—viz. to celebrate the opening of the *commercial Museum of Mexico*—is nevertheless pertinent, because it will serve once more to demonstrate—particularly on the occasion of the inauguration of this Museum—that the President of the Republic, notwithstanding the almost insuperable resistance offered by our present disorganization and that caused by the European war, is firmly directing national politics along the lines traced out by History and by Nature, with the patriotic end of hastening as far as possible the evolution of the Country, because the dilemma of the future of every country—until the necessary adaptations be realized for the whole world to

reach a higher condition of civilization—is the following: either worthily to form part in the triumphal march of Humanity or shamefully to be swept away by it.

Our people indeed—aside from their strange ethnical peculiarities—present the curious phenomenon of leading a life full of sorrow, misery and want, in an immensely vast territory which contains enough natural resources to enrich a number of inhabitants many times greater, and of tyrannical oppression under the sway of liberal laws which it has stamped with its own blood; misery and want and oppression, in short, in the midst of abundance and the deceitful appearance of liberty, have always been the poles round which all its misfortunes have revolved. And, the reason is that in order to promote the interests of a corruptive leading class, it has only been possible heretofore accidentally and with the lyricism of a defective popular religious or lay instruction to combat the fundamental causes of so singular an anomaly, which originate from the process itself of formation of Mexican nationality. It proves in fact useless—

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

according to Zoydes—"to expect moral education "when the economic atmosphere does not permit "it. Those who preach that it is necessary to "educate the masses in order to improve their "economic conditions, only state one small part of "the truth. The diffusion of instruction is benefi- "cial only in the sense that it tends to make men "dissatisfied with a life of poverty, and the dim- "inution of certain vices the better adapts them "to rebel against their destiny. And in this way "public schools become the means of hastening "revolutions."

This is why the political history of Mexico barely contains anything but accounts of the tragic revolutionary outbursts of popular dreams of liberty and economic betterment, which have only been quelled by temporary dictatorships in the end leaving the people as oppressed and miserable as they were before.

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Our first efforts, therefore, in order to be able to form a national soul revealing civilization and

strength, should be directed to the healing of the everlasting ailments of the Motherland through the economic redemption of the proletariat. The very great urgency wherewith indeed the necessity was made manifest of *promoting, developing and intensifying the industrial and commercial activities of the country*—functions which were formerly entrusted to organs of very secondary or least importance, dependent on the Departments of Advancement, Colonization and Industry, and of Finance—determined through an almost biological process, the recent amendments relative to the worn out organization of the Federal Executive Power, rationally restricting the vast sphere of action of those Departments, namely, assigning to the former as its principal functions under the denomination of *Department of Agriculture and Advancement*, what concerns the *agrarian problem*—in order to change the regimen of servitude in the farms and bring about auto-colonization and a sound immigratory current to extend and intensify agricultural production—and to the latter what properly belongs to it in accord with its designation, and finally

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

establishing the new *Department of Industry, Commerce and Labour.*

Notwithstanding that this last named Department finds itself hampered by numerous difficulties for the efficient discharge of its functions in relation to industry and commerce, since, although it is one of the most important wheels of the complicated administrative mechanism in the work of national reconstruction, it has necessarily to come into gear with all the other wheels of that mechanism and most especially into those of pacification, the reorganization of the transportation service and the equitable fixing and distribution of taxes and the reestablishment of public credit, a gearing that necessarily causes obstructions in the march of the said Department; notwithstanding the resistance originated by the precarious economic conditions of the Country and the isolation into which we are being driven by the world war; notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the national lack of experience of certain local authorities as is revealed, for instance, in the mistaken application of clause 123 of the Constitu-

tion—the regulation of which shall have to be studied most conscientiously—or in the repeated violations of the Federal contract by the revival of interstate duties a thing that is opposed to the liberty of commerce; notwithstanding all this—I say—and much more, the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labour is zealously directing its efforts—complying to the best of its ability with the relative orders of the First Magistrate of the Country—towards the ends already indicated of popular redemption and of possible future co-operation of the Mexican Nation in the realization of the lofty destinies of humanity.

It would not be amiss, Gentlemen, here to introduce a brief parenthesis in order to recall a very significant fact in this connection. It was only after three years of a war without precedent in the history of Humanity—kindled by the clash of certain conflicting economic interests—that faint glimmerings of peace began to loom, not in the fields invaded by the exterminating fire of battle—which now has become even more widespread—but in the tranquil sky of lofty ideas and noble

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

purposes, with the concurrence of the economic aspirations already expressed, in memorable speeches of the President of the United States of North America, of the Imperial Chancellor of Germany and of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria. The following are the utterances of the high American dignitary to which the already mentioned functionaries of the Central Empires have manifested their assent:

“Removal of all economic barriers and establishment of equality of trade conditions among nations consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.”

Now, this proposition absolutely coincides with the relative part of the Carranza doctrine of industrial democratic policy, which I took the liberty to formulate on a solemn occasion two months before.

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The Department of which I am speaking—as I have already stated—has sought the promotion development and intensification of the commercial and

industrial activities of the Country using every means within its power: whether striving to organize itself in the most efficient and economic way compatible with circumstances and the technical elements and material at its disposal; or zealously defending the constitutional vindication of a national right, (1)—inalienable and imprescriptible but nevertheless trampled under foot by former Governments—which will powerfully hasten the advent of the prosperity of the Nation; or endeavouring to coordinate one with another and with the Government relative interests, scattered throughout the Country in order to give them greater individual potency and adjust them to the good of the community; or coming in direct contact with those interests—whether already or about to be organized—in order democratically to blend them with the social mass and thus without any appreciable expense, enormously to increase its working personnel, spread it over the whole Republic and extend the limited horizon of official

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(1) The direct domain by the nation of petroleum and other campylogens of the subsoil.

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

criterion. As incontrovertible proofs of these endeavours, on the one hand we have the establishment of new Chambers of Commerce, and Industrial, Mining or Petroleum Chambers, in different cities of the Country, together with their respective confederations, and on the other hand, the recent congresses of Merchants and Industrials who have studied many of the most important questions incumbent on the Department to resolve, as a result of which, crystallized in concrete recommendations or "votes," some have already sprung to actual life and are already deeply rooted in our customs and institutions, while others with the study which served them as a basis may be utilized as sure channels of debates, at times tumultuous, of the Congress of the Union.

And one of the fittest embodiments of this policy of coordination for the promotion of national commerce and industry and the first firm steps on the road to the economic redemption of the Mexican people, is precisely the COMMERCIAL MUSEUM.

Indeed, in the broadest sense of the word, mod-

ern merchants are the requisite and necessary mediators between the producers—who operate in certain well defined places—and the great anonymous mass of consumers scattered over all the inhabitable surface of the earth, having an extraordinary diversity of languages, customs, resources, needs and tendings; each merchant goaded on by the competition of others and by the very legitimate ambition of indefinitely extending his sphere of action, sets in play every means of propaganda at his disposal—show-windows, manifold forms of advertisements, catalogues, commercial travellers, etc., all of which facilitates sales and purchases, increases consumption, multiplies and diversifies production and adds to the general well-being. But as this propaganda is made by isolated individual acts—and it is obvious that private and collective interests do not always coincide—in some cases the result proves a violation of the precepts of morals or of law and its effects therefore are negative in the mechanical composition of public welfare. Wherefrom may be deduced the imperious necessity of coordinat-

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

ing and controlling those individual acts, while on the other hand it is indisputable that no other institution would more aptly meet that necessity than a good *commercial museum*, or in other words: *the living representation of all the possibilities of consumption of each country, through the systematic concentration of the most efficacious means of an honest commercial propaganda, at every moment of its economic life, in order to attain the greatest possible well-being of the community.*

No other than this for Mexico—with respect to its own territory and with respect also to all the countries of the world with which it may commercially be related—is the important function entrusted to our incipient *commercial museum*.



Within a few moments, Gentlemen, when the President of the Republic shall have solemnly declared the *commercial museum* opened, you will be able to go over the different rooms and

contemplate series of show-windows containing samples of raw material, technologies and manufactured products, grouped together in different departments according to the following classification:

The ground floor—devoted to *raw material and the relative technologies*—contains in the centre room *those of mineral*, on the East side *those of vegetable* and on the West side *those of animal origin*.

The upper floor of the building—devoted to *manufactured products*—includes in each of its three rooms respectively, articles devoted to *food, clothing and shelter*.

You will notice a label attached to each sample whereon are shown all the technical and mercantile data necessary thoroughly to become acquainted with the article exhibited and to facilitate the relative transactions of purchase and sale; you will no doubt be surprised to verify on many of these labels the Mexican nationality of products which before you imagined came from abroad; you will observe that out of the sixty odd technologies, exhib-

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

ited, some serve to show the successive transformations that a raw material should undergo in order to produce a certain article, as for instance matches, rubber, ramie or cotton; and others are intended to point out all the products which it is possible to obtain from a certain raw material, as from bone, salt or corn. You will see the great educative influence that these exhibitions may exert not only in the mass of the public but also in the school population as a most valuable auxiliary to technological instruction.... But why continue the tiresome enumeration of everything that will strike the eye of the visitor by simply going over the Museum?

I shall, therefore, in closing, confine myself to telling you something which may not be seen and which therefore you would not become acquainted with if your visit were but cursory or you did not take the trouble to inquire.

This present exhibition has been formed with samples of national production sent by over 300 merchants and industrials at their own expense. Born in a humble cradle it will grow little by little

according as the resources of the Treasury may permit. But as under no circumstances would it be possible to exhibit all the products of our soil and our factories and all those of foreign origin susceptible of consumption in our Country, now and always—be the limits of the locality of the Museum whatever they be—endeavours will be made to facilitate meeting all the demands of national consumption, *exhibiting as many samples truly representative* of the industrial activities as may fit within the available locality, and *giving concrete, clear and detailed reports of all the rest*. For this purpose the formation of a Commercial and industrial Directory of the Mexican Republic is well under weigh—with all the relative data—and the Museum already counts on the magnificent American and European Commercial Directories together with a small Library—which is daily being added to—of over 500 catalogues of the machinery necessary for the extraction and industrial transformation of our natural resources and of foreign manufactured products of necessary or possible consumption in this Country.

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

As on the other hand the Commercial Museum—which to-day opens its doors to the public—is installed in the City of Mexico and the intention of the Government is to create an institution that may answer both to the demands of the consumption of the whole Country and to its ambitions of industrial aggrandizement, this Museum—not being accessible to the whole population of Mexico and the possible foreign consumers of exploitable national wealth—*will have to be mobilized* with regard to the former at least, *towards the most important centres of the Republic*, and with regard to the latter *abroad* in such directions as our own production may be susceptible of consumption. The ramifications of the Commercial Museum of Mexico within the Country will prove a further benefit accruing from the co-operation of the Chambers of Commerce and of Industry with the Government—of which such eloquent proofs have already been given—opening Branches of the said Museum in the buildings of those Chambers. The mobilization of the Museum towards foreign countries has already been initiated by the establish-

ment of small Museums attached to our Consulates in various cities of the United States of the North, Cuba, Guatemala, El Salvador, Perú and Chile in America; of Spain, France, Sweden and Denmark, in Europe; and of Japan, in Asia.

Mention should also here be made of the Industrial Experimental Laboratory, the machinery for which has already arrived from the United States and which will be installed in a near future in a place adjoining the Museum, with the object of being able to verify the quality of the products exhibited or of those which the public may submit for analysis and of studying the different forms of the industrial use of many and most abundant natural products which at present are most sadly wasted. I need not dwell upon the importance of the role which the Laboratory will represent principally in the development of small industries and thereby in the material redemption of the proletariat.

Lastly as the institution which has just been born would not be able to attain the ends for which it was created, without at every moment revealing

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the possibilities of consumption and productive capacity of the whole nation, *it will be necessary to be constantly renewing its exhibits*, veritable rhythms of the systole and diastole of the Central Museum and the simultaneous or immediate beatings of its divers ramifications as a living manifestation of the real economic vigor of the Mexican people.

Such are in brief, Gentlemen, the principal paths indicated for the development of the new institution of the Commercial Museum of Mexico, through the labour and tendencies of the present policy of the President: the economic and moral regeneration of the Country by the perfect co-ordination of all the interests, all the hopes, and all the ideas of its children, with a view to endowing it with a national soul capable of palpitating in future in unison with the souls of all the other countries of the world likewise redeemed and bound together by a strong bond of universal solidarity.

México, D. F., June the 25th. 1918.

A. J. PANI.



## AN OPTIMISTIC CONCLUSION

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Marginal Notes on the last Presidential Message.



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If we ascend to the sublime summit of Science—  
inaccessible to the influence of passion, selfishness  
and prejudice—we shall, without the slightest  
effort, at once set out in relief perceive the differ-  
ence wherewith the progress of evolution has  
been effected in the various parts of the world,  
the progress being principally indicated by the  
various degrees of solidarity among men; it will  
then suffice, in view of this materialization of the  
progress of humanity in our days, to make a very  
small effort to be enabled to classify the world  
—as if it were a geographic conformation—  
in open plains of BARBARISM, wherein the in-  
dividual holds supreme sway over an enslaved  
community, and heights of CIVILIZATION, all  
the more elevated in proportion as the sway of the  
community over the free individual is greater.

Intensifying the effort a little, we shall likewise be able to distinguish in the civilized portion of the world, two large groups of countries, the one of unstable political and social organization and consequently still subject to bloody internal convulsions, and the other of countries stably organized, but still exposed to armed international conflicts, groups respectively corresponding to two large categories of civilization, INFERIOR and SUPERIOR. We shall observe—from that insuperable height—that wars simply come to be violent shocks that serve to adapt nations to conditions that alter their mode of existence or mere passing disequilibriums of the forces that support the structure of their internal or collective organization. We shall find that notwithstanding that these phenomena constitute violent means of elimination of the UNADAPTED be they social classes or nations—they invariably for the moment originate lamentable regressions to barbarism or to less advanced conditions of civilization. We shall furthermore perceive that, in addition to this circumstance, whilst the war ex-

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

penses in human life and material and moral wealth—fabulously increased by our contemporary industrial progress—are distributed among all or almost all, the laurels of victory, and the booty are allotted to a very few fortunate ones, whence we must admit that modern wars in the long run are injurious not only to all of the vanquished but also to the great majority of the victors.... The promising gleams of peace that radiate from this sorrowful teaching, will shine forth even brighter as a supreme consolation in the midst of the shadows of every misery, bitterness and calamity which apparently are malevolently spread on all sides, if we follow through the strong evolutive chain of barbarism and the inferior and superior civilizations, the inexorable process of the indefinite perfection of humanity, which is the trustworthy herald of the acme of a future civilization that may necessarily bring about, by the inevitable force of the laws of nature, the longed for solidarity of the universe.

Let us now descend from the lofty heights of the Sinai of Science, but before closing this book—

in whose pages throbs many an ardent longing of the Mexican people for their betterment—let us observe the gigantic efforts that are being made to turn those holy longings for peace that thrill the hearts of the people, into a reality, that is, to save it from the world conflagration, to cure it of all the chronic evils of internal disorganization, to embody it into civilization and render it capable of contributing with the products of its rich soil—efficiently exploited under the shadow of social order and the protection of liberal and just laws—to repair the enormous losses suffered by Humanity in its devastating struggle, and let us listen with fervent reverence to how that people, stained, yet on its way to redemption, solemnly declares to the world—through the authorized voice of its First Mandatory and in view of the scandalous failure of the worn out practices and the old principles of International Law—and sanctions with extraordinary acts of serene energy, vigorously engendered, notwithstanding its innate debility, by the experience of its own sufferings:

That all countries are equal and should mu-

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tually and scrupulously respect each other's Institutions, Laws and Sovereignty;

That no country should intervene in any form or through any cause whatever in the internal affairs of another;

That no individual should pretend a better position than that held by the citizens of the country wherein he settles, nor should he use his condition as a foreigner as a right to protection and privileges; and finally,

That legislations should be uniform as far as possible, without establishing distinctions by reason of nationality, save regarding the exercise of Sovereignty.

"From this body of principles"—the recent Presidential message to the Hon. Congress of the Union continues with candid eloquence—"the present notion of diplomacy becomes deeply modified. "The latter must not serve to protect private interests nor to place at their service the strength and majesty of nations. Nor either must it serve to exert pressure on Governments of weak countries, "with a view to obtaining amendments to laws

"that do not suit the subjects of powerful countries.  
"Diplomacy must watch over the general interests  
"of civilization and the establishment of universal  
"confraternity."

And.... drinking from this fountain of satisfaction for our Country and of hope for Humanity, but keeping aloof from the influence of passion, selfishness or prejudice, let us briefly synthesize the optimistic philosophy with which our soul is filled, in this final postulate;

"The vast system of live human forces, in perpetual operation of infinite and complicated compositions between each other and with the other forces of the cosmic medium, is inevitably directed notwithstanding the disconcerting phenomena of *regressive evolution* which perturb and retard *ascendant evolution*—to the perfect adaptation of man on earth, which is the scientific formula of *human happiness*."

Science, in truth, on changing the Earthly Paradise from its starting point to that of the destiny of humankind, created the greatest incentive to pro-

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gress, by fanning the flame of hope and rendering  
for ever inextinguishable that sole real worship  
of all men and of all times.

México, D. F. Sept. 2, 1918.



THE NEW CONTROL DEPARTMENT  
AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE MORALIZATION

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Statements given out to the Press.



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At the initiative of the Executive of the Nation—approved by the Hon. Congress of the Union—in the Organic Law governing the State Departments, was included a new autonomous, administrative dependency, under the strange name of “*Departamento de Contraloría*”, “Control Department”. As this undoubtedly constitutes one of the most important steps taken by any of the Governments that have existed in Mexico since the date of the consummation of National Independence, conducive to the “efficiency, economy and morality of the public administration”, and moreover, as the relative Laws and Regulations—even though they be published in all the newspapers of the country—may undergo the same fate as that of lengthy official documents—for the perusal of which people generally seem to have cobwebs over

their eyes—I shall take the liberty, in the following lines, of making a synopsis of and a brief commentary upon the abovementioned law, thus inviting the public to fix their attention at least on some of the most transcendental points.

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\* \* \*

However strange at first sight may appear the word "*Contraloría*" it is nevertheless purely Castilian and its connotation correctly defines the Department by it designated.

In fact, in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, the word "*contralor*" is found and given the following explanation: (From the French 'contrôleur'). m. "An honorary office in the Royal "Household, according to the etiquette of Bur- "gundy, equivalent to what, according to that of "Castile, we call seer. He audited the accounts, "expenses, orders, charges for jewelry and furni- "ture, and exercised other important functions.— "In the Artillery Corps and the Army Hospitals "the one who audits the cash and effects accounts".

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Also, in Dictionaries like Fernández de Cuesta's, Elías Zerolos, Miguel de Toro y Gómez', and other Spanish and American Authors, &c., we find the word "*"contraloría"*", with the following meanings: "The Office of Controller.—The Office of the Controller".

Our words "*Contralor*" and "*Contraloría*" may therefore respectively correspond to the English words "*Controller*" and "*Control or Controllership*".

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\* \*

We all know that the Public Treasury accounts in Mexico have always been a "mess very difficult to disentangle" and on the very rare occasions when it has been possible to "wind the thread on the spool in neat order"—and then the accounts have had the appearance of a fictitious rather than real order—it has been impossible to bring the relative criminal action against the violators of the law, for lack of administrative efficiency or morality, that is, because that criminal action, when its applicability was discovered, had already prescribed, or because

it miscarried through the corruption of the judicial authorities or their undue submission to the Executive, with a view to disgraceful political compromises. And it is only natural that such should have been the case, given our atmosphere of endemic perversions and bearing in mind that the gross defects of the official methods of procedure and accounting—old fashioned, routinary and unnecessarily laborious—in the Mexican finances have been piled on to the evils originated by a fundamental error of organization: the handling of public funds, the administration of public national property and the relative accounting and auditing have been concentrated in the General Treasury of the Federation, which is a dependency on the Finance Department.

Who could estimate the enormous aggregate of political power—since the “the master is the one who pays”— that such conditions were capable of presenting the person in charge of the Finance Department, a dependency the censor of all the other organs of the Executive, without itself in turn being censored by any of the others?

Although under the law of May 22, 1910, the

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separation of the functions of accountancy from those which belong to the Treasury proper, was determined, and the Accounting and Auditing Bureau established, the latter however remained within the gearing of the Finance Department itself, thus leaving the Minister of Finance—with the money in his right hand and the vouchers for expenses in his left—in the possibility of exercising charity according to Christian fashion towards the Bureau, without the latter being aware of it.

The Controllership or Controlling or Control Department, therefore, now depending directly on the Head of the Executive, is the one that has come to cut at the root of the evil, amputating the left hand of the omnipotent political personage, the lord and master of the national finances; and it is to the present Government of the Republic—partaking therein by their valuable cooperation the Chargés of the Finance Department—to whom belongs the glory of this most necessary and useful piece of social surgery.

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\* \*

In order to synthesize the principal functions of "efficiency" of the "Control Department", it would suffice to state that it "unifies, uniforms and simplifies the official accounts" in such a way that the Head of the Executive may possess:

I.—Monthly complete, detailed and accurate information, during the course of the fiscal year, and before the 20th. of each month, regarding the state of the Public Finances in the preceding month; and,

II.—Yearly complete, detailed and accurate information, before the last day of March of each year, on the financial conditions of the Republic at the end of the preceding fiscal year.

But as, furthermore, it will be its duty to study the organization and procedure of the Departments of State, Offices and other dependencies of the Government, with a view to formulating and recommending measures which may tend to reduce expenses in the said offices, the effects of the "efficiency" of the Department in question will not be

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

limited to its own individual operation but will be beneficially extended to all the other organs of the Federal Executive.

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\* \*

The "moralizing" effects of the "Control Department"—in addition to those accruing by its severance from the Treasury and its emancipation from the Finance Department—may be evidenced by merely recalling that among its powers are included:

1st.—To demand such criminal and civil responsibilities as Government functionaries and employés may incur—whatever be their category—in the handling of funds and property of the Nation, defining and localizing the said responsibilities in order that the relative criminal action be not postponed or evaded.

2nd.—To decide on the validity of the bond or security which every Government functionary, employé or agent shall provide, who handles funds or property of the Nation and to realize such bonds or securities whenever the circumstances of the case shall so warrant it; and,

*A L B E R T O J. P A N I*

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3rd.—To prevent the celebration of contracts or obligations involving expenses not included in the relative items of the Budget in force or in the available balances of the said items.

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I now beg to close, my object having merely been to make a brief and condensed extract of the Laws and Regulations of the Control Department, which comprise sixty two permanent and six transient articles, from the strict application of which the "Motherland with good foundation expects all the benefits to be derived—without precedent in our history—from public funds being handled with absolute submission to the precepts of the laws of science and morality."

México, D. F. January 18th. 1918.

*A. J. Pani.*

## OUR IDEA OF THE FATHERLAND

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A toast proposed at the banquet held to commemorate the organization of the Chambers of Commerce and the Industrial Chambers of the Republic.



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Altogether lacking the necessary intellectual ability befittingly to reply to the torrent of eloquence and graciousness with which Lic. Mestre has regaled us, I must needs confine myself to the expression of my bounden yet none the less effusive and sincere gratitude.....

I wish, however, to take advantage of the happy coincidence that the most prominent representatives of the beneficial foreign influence in the economic development of our Fatherland should be gathered together here, to say a few words that will serve to mark the viewpoint from which may more clearly be perceived the most important aspect of the Confederations of the Chambers of Commerce and the Industrial Chambers of the country.

Human evolution, after all, is but the resultant of the eternal struggle between Truth and False-

hood, the generators respectively of light and darkness, of progress and retrogression, of happiness and woe, of life and death....

In the individual order, indeed, transgressions of the laws of Nature or of the rules of Society, constitute errors that originate much suffering and many tears, in the course of the slow and cruel process of elimination of the unadapted.

In the social order, the erroneous principles that maintain an obstructive policy that mummifies governments before the irresistible advance of nations, the people provoke sanguinary commotions that sow ruin and desolation on all sides.

In the international order, they are lies that have brutally torn the entrails of Humanity; as much the mediaeval crusades in behalf of the faith as the modern crusades in behalf of civilization. Do you really not regard as rank irony to carry the hallowed names of religion and civilization on the sharp point of a bayonet to subdue and ruthlessly exploit a free people? Has not, forsooth, the worst national government always been less bad for the native population than the best foreign domination?

The forgetfulness or ignorance of this axiom has together with a false notion of what Fatherland means, maintained the absurd right of conquest and mastery by brute force. The acutest form of *patriotism* certainly is that which now reproduces the relative sentiment of the ancient Roman citizens—according to which Rome was the *fatherland par excellence* and the laying of its yoke on the world was a favour not less than an honour bestowed upon the latter—and it constitutes one of the most barefaced lies of contemporary civilization, which through *imperialism* has perpetrated the bloodiest sacrifices of the human race.

The true conception of the Fatherland—if it is to be an efficient factor in the progress of Humanity—not only proceeds, mystically from the memories of the past, but also and above all, materially and ethically, from the present enjoyment of wellbeing and from a sense of duty which we all possess of bequeathing that sum of wellbeing, yet increased, to future generations. The free embodiment, therefore, of the efforts of a foreigner in the national activities, links that foreigner with the past

because the field wherein his efforts are unfolded, is the product of many more preceding efforts; with the present by inevitable relations of coexistence; and with the future by his children who are the beauteous continuation in time and space of his own self.

The cardinal feature of the notion of the Fatherland—deduced from the Carranza doctrine in International politics—is therefore the equality between foreigners and nationals in the work common to both, of general prosperity. The slight restrictions laid on the former, as contained under our laws, are laid principally on account of the different notions which other countries profess of the Fatherland: many of those restrictions would therefore cease to be, with the sole disappearance of *imperialism*.

Now, as the Confederations of the Chambers of Commerce and the Industrial Chambers of the Republic tend to embody in one single effort all the joint efforts of their members both national and foreign, in order in an harmonious cooperation with the Government to receive the legacy of the past,

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bequeathing it yet improved, to those who are to follow us; in closing, I cannot but invite all the Mexicans here present to raise their glasses and drink to the health of the foreign merchants and industrials—who, without claiming unjust privileged conditions, have come efficiently to contribute to the aggradizement of Mexico—greeting them with these simple words: *Our fatherland, brothers, is your fatherland too!!!*

Chapultepec Restaurant, September 29, 1918.



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